12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Munduruca refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Munduruca and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the ekxá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Munduruc society.

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, [illegible] is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the ekxá lie in their hammocks, converse, most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on cooperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Munduruc ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such social and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Cooperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Munduruká males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Munduruká look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and cooperation among the Munduruká men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origin, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that cooperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strain imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Munduruká society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social [illegible] only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karikó), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Caburá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Caruru, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They acquired a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their cooperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given unprodigiously. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that cooperation should be given to any task in which [81] your effort is possible.

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no [illegible] a social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, as obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

12:Murphy E-1 (1911-1913) 1960
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the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate succession and divested of the attributes that commanded greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus became a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary distribution of the strength villages of Cabruá and Cabituná. Until two years before my investigation, an old Munduruku whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabituná. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabituná respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabituná to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Bibói, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, cooperative, and nonaggressive Munduruku conduct, Bibói was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabituná who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Bibói as a usurper and tool of the trader. They were prepared to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Bibói would have caused endless trouble, and the Munduruku assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

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social solidarity and social fission

Each Munduruú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Munduruú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji ugut*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Munduruú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show cooperation and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

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DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I:
WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young *chief* of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutu, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his 'followers' in Cabitutú busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucú.

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutú plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucú society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reëstablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucú men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucú, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutu." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucú addressed me, and

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset
me considerably. Bihoi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He
cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me
for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to
lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything to either the realm of
554 traditional Munduruku activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
555 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this rea-
son our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate
him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife
discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Munduruku so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bihoi would demand a
cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we point-
ed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Bihoi had other most
unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and
did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal
his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But under-
neath this façade, Bihoi was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that 'people are talking about me.' Lest this be inter-
preted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were
indeed talking about him, and Bihoi had every reason to be anxious. Not only
his ego but his very life was in danger.

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157 Bihoi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Munduruku
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should
behave. Munduruku society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the prin-
[61] ciple of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are considered
[61] to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilin-
eal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move
to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the
villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he
obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the
man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also
acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a
classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-
cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
576 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range
along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may
pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a
population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such
stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the
Munduruku type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only pro-
duces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of
Munduruku society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative,
unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bihoi presented a threat
to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered
and acquisitive--all the things that a Munduruku should not be.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the ideals of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Dibui's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. To them he violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-assertively and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Dibui not only misunderstood the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and silenced in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Dibui's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wished so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that guided this adjustment, Dibui had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role constraints. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully suppressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in preventing the overt face of hostility, but Dibui's own assimilation was in part derived from Brazilians and was not attuned to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any outsider, he had come close to feud aggression. His error was in openly alienating to the others against him, a normal course for a Brazilian outsider but not for a Mundurucú victim.

IV

Dibui's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutu. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftaincy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. Thus the trader wants increased production to help the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he may do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely control the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

[illegible]

(5 cont.)

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7. Let us explain further the Indian's notion or idea of the concept "garden" (ko). To him, "garden" is, basically, a garden of home manioc, or in a broader sense, wherein such as sweet manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, caladium, etc. This narrow concept probably arose in the time when tubercles, especially home manioc, were the only cultivated plants. Nowadays, of course, the Mundurucú have at their disposal a much greater variety of cultivable plants which they grow in their home-manioc gardens. Speaking of these products, they usually amplify on the "garden" concept with terms which, to our minds, would seem unnecessary, such as "the pumpkins which I grow in my home-manioc garden," etc. If they have prepared gardens of products which are not tubercles, such as for example maize alone, they will clarify the matter beforehand by speaking of a "maize garden," etc. But "garden" means, to them, a home-manioc garden. As for the dual term for garden used by men and women, we shall speak of this when we come to social factors.

*241 *[25] The entire process of native agricultural work, especially the application and execution of what we could call "garden methods," is based on fixed, traditional norms, which in turn are determined by the conditions imposed by nature as to climate, seasons, soils, etc., and also by the logical sequence of agricultural work.